1:Takakura - H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3
AEF 102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF *175 *648 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 ●669 *648

A [411]

AF *175 669 *648 728

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

A F
*175 *648 669 728

2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering this country will be taken care of.

3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

A F
[434]

6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to, messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

A F
*C98 *175 [651]

Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

---

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

A F Feudal Japan 1B2

*175 *648 433 554 437

weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

*175 *648 [669]

The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui."* *"Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona"*: a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A F [439] [431]

A [622]

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.